

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

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SUMMARY: PEOPLE'S DAILY'S FIRST EDITORIAL DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE CAMPAIGN (MARCH 10) CHARGED "THAT PERSON" (I.E., TENG HSIAO-PING) AS CREATING OPPOSITION TO CHAIRMAN MAO. THE EDITORIAL, HOWEVER, OFFERS REDEMPTION TO CADRES WHO ADMIT THEIR ERRORS AND MAINTAINS TIGHT PARTY CONTROL OVER THE CAMPAIGN. PROVINCIAL AND PLA RESPONSE TO THE CAMPAIGN REMAINS GUARDED AND HESITANT. EXTERNALLY, THE VOLUME OF ANTI-SOVIET INVECTIVE REMAINS HIGH ALTHOUGH THE PRC MEDIA HAVE NOT YET DENOUNCED THE CURRENT CPSU CONGRESS DIRECTLY. A PRC DELEGATION IS CURRENTLY IN PHNOM PENH AND VICE PREMIER KU MU IS HOSTING AN ETHIOPIAN GOODWILL MISSION IN PEKING, PROVIDING THE FIRST AUTHORITATIVE PRC COMMENTS ON AFRICA AND CAMBODIA SINCE THE DEATH OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI. END SUMMARY

1. CAMPAIGN GETS ITS FIRST FULL EDITORIAL--CONTROL STILL  
A KEY

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PEOPLE'S DAILY TODAY ISSUED THE FIRST EDITORIAL DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE CAMPAIGN. AND, WHILE THERE WAS OBVIOUSLY A STEP-UP IN THE CAMPAIGN BY CHARGING "THAT PERSON" WITH CREATING OPPOSITION TO MAO, CONTROL WAS KEPT IN THE HANDS OF PARTY COMMITTEES. THERE IS AN OFFICIAL INJUNCTION AGAINST "EXCHANGING EXPERIENCE" AND THE CREATION OF "FIGHTING GROUPS,"

BUT A POSITIVE CALL FOR THE CAMPAIGN TO CONTINUE TO DEEPEN AND TO NARROW ITS FOCUS OF ATTACK. ALTHOUGH THIS CLEARLY BODES ILL FOR TENG HSIAO-PING, THE EDITORIAL ENDS WITH THE USUAL STRICTURE THAT THE CHAIRMAN LOOKS TO "CURE" THE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE GONE ASTRAY RATHER THAN TO PURGE THEM (HONG KONG 2739).  
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2. EVEN BEFORE THE EDITORIAL, THE CAMPAIGN HAD QUALITATIVELY AND QUANTITATIVELY SHIFTED AGAINST TENG DURING THE WEEK. THE MEDIA SWITCHED EMPHASIS FROM "CAPITALIST ROADERS" TO REFERENCES IN THE SINGULAR. IN ADDITION, CULTURAL CLAQUES LEAPED TO THE ATTACK AND THE PLA STEPPED GINGERLY INTO THE CAMPAIGN (PARA 5). FOLLOWING ON A CHU LAN ARTICLE IN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY (HONG KONG 2589), CHIANG CHING'S CULTURAL COVEN HAS BLANKETED THE MEDIA, CARPING ABOUT TENG'S APPARENT EFFORTS TO SABOTAGE THE MODERN REVOLUTIONARY THEATRICAL WORKS WHICH MADAME MAO NURTURED. THE SHRILLNESS OF THE LANGUAGE FAILS TO DISGUISE THE WEAKNESS OF THE ARGUMENTS. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

3. REGIME EFFORTS TO KEEP THE CAMPAIGN WITHIN BOUNDS HAVE BEEN MOST NOTICEABLE IN THE ABSENCE OF MASS MEETINGS. EVEN WITH THE RECENT CALL TO MOBILIZE THE MASSES (HONG KONG 2515), THERE HAS BEEN ONLY ONE KNOWN MASS MEETING WITH SOME 15,000 ATTENDEES, BUT EVEN THIS WAS A UNIVERSITY GATHERING. IN ADDITION, THE AMOUNT OF ATTENTION TO PRODUCTION ISSUES HAS BEEN INCREASING, AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO CARRYING OUT THE CAMPAIGN "WITH ACUTAL DEEDS," THEMSELVES ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY PRODUCTION ORIENTED.

4. THE CAMPAIGN IN THE PROVINCES  
ANHWEI PARTY FIRST SECRETARY SUNG PEI-CHANG LAST WEEK BECAME THE FIRST PROVINCIAL BOSS PUBLICLY TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH ATTACKS ON TENG HSIAO-PING. SPEAKING AT A WOMEN'S RALLY, SUNG ATTACKED THE REVISIONIST PROGRAM OF "THAT CAPITALIST  
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ROADER" WHILE OTHERWISE TAKING A MODERATE STANCE ON THE CRITICISM CAMPAIGN. OTHER PROVINCIAL LEADERS HAVE BEEN CONSPICUOUS BY THEIR ABSENCE FROM PUBLIC VIEW: NO OTHER FIRST SECRETARY HAS APPEARED IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS. THEY ARE EVIDENTLY UNWILLING TO GET OUT IN FRONT ON THIS ISSUE, AND HAVE CONTENTED THEMSELVES WITH PARTY COMMITTEE-SPONSORED STUDY SESSIONS AND CRITICISM MEETINGS IN SCHOOLS, FACTORIES, AND ORGANIZATIONS. TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS WERE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN HOLDING CRITICISM MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK, WHILE DCY CONTINUED TO PLEDGE IMPLEMENTATION OF MAO'S LINE BY REMAINING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

5. THE PLA AND THE CAMPAIGN  
THE PLA STEPPED UP ITS INVOLVEMENT IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN,

ADVANCING FROM COMMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL FIGHTERS TO CRITICISM BY SELECTED MILITARY UNITS AND, IN ONE CASE, AN ENTIRE MILITARY REGION (MR). THE 13TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S CALL TO LEARN FROM LEI FENG, A MODEL SOLDIER WHO DIED FOR THE REVOLUTION, BROUGHT FORTH ARTICLES FROM THE SHENYANG MR STATING THAT ITS COMMANDERS AND FIGHTERS WERE STUDYING AND CRITICIZING "THAT CAPITALIS ROADER" (PEOPLE'S DAILY, MARCH 6, IR 6 842 0188 76). A UNIT FROM THE CANTON MR REPEATED A SIMILAR LINE, WHILE A WUHAN MR UNIT LINKED ITS CRITICISM WORK TO AIDING WITH SPRING FARMING (RADIOS KWANGTUNG AND HUPEH, MARCH 5). ALTHOUGH A KIANGSI UNIT WAS PARTICULARLY SHARP IN ITS CRITICISM, IMPLYING THAT THERE ARE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES CURRENTLY WITHIN THE MILITARY (MARCH 6 BROADCAST), THE PLAS ON THE WHOLE IS STILL LAGGING BEHIND CIVILIAN UNITS IN CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

6. LEADERSHIP APPEARANCES: WOMEN'S DAY AND OUT-OF-TOWN GUESTS INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY ACTIVITIES AND VISITS BY SEVERAL FOREIGN DELEGATIONS PROVIDED THE SETTINGS FOR THIS WEEK'S MOST NOTABLE LEADERSHIP APPEARANCES, ALTHOUGH FULL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CHU TEH, WERE CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT. AT A PEKING MEETING, 13,000 WOMEN WERE REMINDED OF THEIR IMPORTANCE IN "BEATING BACK THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND" AND IN WAGING CLASS STRUGGLE WHILE A SMALLER GROUP OF CHINESE AND FOREIGN WOMEN WERE HAVING A "GET-TOGETHER." PROMINENT WOMEN LEADERS ATTENDING INCLUDED VICE PREMIER WU KUEI-HSIEN, NPC STANDING COMMITTEE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VICE CHAIRMAN LI SU-WEN, RENG YING-CHAO (MRS. CHOU EN-LAI), AND LIN CHIA-MEI (MRS. LI HSIEN-NIEN). UNCLASSIFIED

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

7. SUN CHIEN, VICE PREMIER AND FORMER INDUSTRIAL WORKER WHO HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY VISIBLE IN THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, HEADED A GROUP OF LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PRC IN MEETINGS HELD WITH THE VISITING WEST GERMAN MINISTER FOR RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY. THE YOUNG VICE PREMIER'S ROLE ON THE PUBLIC SCENE HAS EMBRACED, WITHIN THE PAST MONTH,

BOTH CEREMONIAL AND SUBSTANTIVE FUNCTIONS, PERHAPS INDICATING AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT, BEHIND-THE-SCENES ROLE AS WELL. UNCLAS

8. CHU TEH CONTINUED TO BE ACTIVE IN HIS ROLE AS CHIEF OF STATE, ACCEPTING CREDENTIALS FROM FOUR NEW AMBASSADORS, WHILE VICE PREMIER KU MU, A CULTURAL REVOLUTION PRUGEE, HOSTED A VISITING ETHIOPIAN GOODWILL DELEGATION AND MET WITH THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR. UNCLASSIFIED

9. UNITED STATES

NCNA CARRIED EXCERPTS OF A MARCH 6 NEW YORK TIMES INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL HAIG, CITING HIM AS SAYING THAT THE COLLECTIVE RESOURCES AND EFFORTS OF THE WEST ARE NEEDED TO MEET THE GROWING GLOBAL SOVIET THREAT. IN A SEPARATE ITEM ON THE SAME DAY, NCNA USED UNSPECIFIED "WASHINGTON REPORTS" ON A STEPPED-UP US PROGRAM TO DEVELOP MEDIUM AND LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES, POINTING OUT THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WOULD "FILL THE GAP BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE QUANTITY OF ICBM'S." THE ITEM WHEN ON IN AN APPROVING MANNER TO REPORT THE MARCH 5 CRUISE MISSILE FLIGHT TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND SECRETARY RUMSFELD'S REPORT TO CONGRESS CALLING FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRUISE MISSILES, TRIDENT SUBMARINES, B-1 STRATEGIC BOMBERS, AND M-X MISSILES (NCNA, MARCH 7). UNCLASSIFIED

10. SOVIETS

THE HEAVY OUTPOURING OF ANTI-SOVIET INVECTIVE CONTINUED THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WEEK WITH THE SOVIETS BEING CONDEMNED IN STANDARD PRC TERMS FOR BOTH DOMESTIC (AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL FAILURES, HOOLIGANISM) AND FOREIGN (EXPLOITATION OF INDIA, EGYPT, AND THE EASTERN EUROPEANS, INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, FALSE DETENTE, AND THE JAPANESE NORTHERN TERRITORIES) POLICIES. ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE ARTICLES CITE THE BREZHNEV SPEECH AT THE 25TH CPSU, THERE HAS BEEN NO COMPREHENSIVE DENUNCIATION OF THE MEETINGS IN THE PRC PRESS THUS FAR. THE PRC-OWNED WEN WEI PAO IN HONG KONG, HOWEVER, ON MARCH 9 CARRIED A COMMENTARY CLAIMING THAT THE SOVIET CONGRESS IS A "GLOOMY" AFFAIR OVERSHADOWED BY THE "SPIRIT OF FAILURE OF REVISIONISM." ACCORDING TO THE PAPER, THE FAILURES ARE DEMONSTRATED BY PRESIDENT FORD'S DROPPING OF THE WORD "DETENTE," DISAFFECTION WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES, ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, FOREIGN POLICY FAILURES IN THE MIDEAST AND PORTUGAL, AND A POLITICAL CRISIS MARKED BY ELECTION OF KGB LEADERS INTO TOP PARTY POSTS. (NCNA, MARCH 4-10). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

11. CAMBODIA

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER LI CHIANG IS HEADING THE HIGHEST-LEVEL PRC DELEGATION TO VISIT CAMBODIA SINCE THE FALL OF PHNOM PENH. HIS REMARKS AT THE MARCH 6 BANQUET ALSO CONSTITUTE THE HIGHEST-LEVEL PRC COMMENT TO DATE ON CAMBODIAN CHARGES OF US BOMBING. IN ITS RATHER BOWDLERIZED REPORT, NCNA INDICATED THAT LI'S SPEECH MERELY FOLLOWED ALONG THE LINES OF A MARCH 5 AUTHORITATIVE PEOPLE'S DAILY "COMMENTATOR" ARTICLE ON THE ISSUE (SEE HONG KONG 2565). LI REPEATED CAMBODIAN CHARGES THAT US PLANES HAVE BOMBED SIEM REAP AND ADDED THAT THE US HAD "COMMITTED A SERIOUS CRIME AGAINST THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE." HOWEVER, SLIGHTLY UPGRADING "COMMENTATOR'S" EXPRESSION OF THE SUPPORT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE, LI SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUSLY STATED THAT "WE FIRMLY SUPPORT THE STAND OF DEMOCRATIC CAMBODIA AND STRONGLY DENOUNCE THE CRIME OF US IMPERIALISM." INTERESTINGLY, PRC MEDIA ACCOUNTS OF THE SPEECH CHOSE TO OMIT THE MORE CRITICAL STATEMENTS ON THE US (I.E., PRAISE FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE'S DRIVING OUT OF THE "US IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR RUNNING DOGS" AND ASSERTION THAT "WE . . . VEHEMENTLY CONDEMN THE ACTS OF CRIMINAL AGGRESSION OF US IMPERIALISM").

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12. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IENG SARY'S ASSERTIONS THAT THE TALKS BETWEEN CHINA'S AND CAMBODIA'S "BROTHERS AND COMRADES-IN-ARMS--WHO FIRMLY ADHERE TO TRUE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" SEEM TO FURTHER UNDERSCORE BOTH COUNTRIES' SELF-INTERESTS IN STRENGTHENING TIES. BUT PEKING'S MEDIA COVERAGE OF LI'S BANQUET REMARKS REVEALS THAT CHINA IS CAUTIOUSLY SEEKING TO STRENGTHEN ITS TIES WITH CAMBODIA WITH MINIMUM HARM TO SINO-US RELATIONS. NCNA ALSO REPORTED THE PRC DELEGATION'S MARCH 8 MEETING WITH HEAD OF STATE NORODOM SIHANOUK. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS IENG SARY AND KHIEU SAMPHAN WERE ALSO IN ATTENDANCE (NCNA, MARCH 3-8, PHNOM PENH DOMESTIC BROADCAST MARCH 6). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

13. AFRICA

ETHIOPIA

THE VISIT OF THE ETHIOPIAN GOODWILL DELEGATION, HEADED BY ECONOMIC COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MICHAEL, PROVIDED THE CHINESE HOST, VICE PREMIER KU MU, WITH THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FIRST PRC OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENT ON AFRICA SINCE CHOU'S DEATH. THE RESULT WAS A VERY MILD STATEMENT ON ANGOLA, COMNDEMNING ONLY THE SOVIETS FOR "OUTRIGHT AGGRESSION AND INTERFERENCE," AND NO REFERENCE TO THE THIRD WORLD. INSTEAD, KU MU DWELT ON BILATERAL SINO-ETHIOPIAN FRIENDSHIP AND STHE STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES. IN THE NCNA EXCERPTS OF THE BANQUET TOASTS, MICHAEL ALSO STUCK TO THE SAME THEMES, BUT DID MENTION

ETHIOPIA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE THIRD WORLD. KU MU, WHO WAS SECONDED BY FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA, HEADED THE CHINESE RECEPTION COMMITTEE AT THE AIRPORT, HOSTED THE BANQUET, AND HAS BEEN THE SENIOR PRC OFFICIAL AT THE FIRST SESSION OF TALKS (NCNA MARCH 8-9). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

14. SOUTH AFRICA

PROBABLY IN AN ATTEMPT TO COUNTER SOVIET CLAIMS THAT THE CHINESE ENDED UP IN LEAGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN THE ANGOLAN SITUATION, THE PEOPLE'S DAILY CARRIED A MARCH 3 COMMENTARY CONDEMNING THE VORSTER REGIME'S POSITION ON THE "REVISED DEFENSE ACT." WHILE THE COMMENTARY IS PRIMARILY DEVOTED TO ATTACKING SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES, IT MANAGES TO END BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CLAIMING THAT BOTH "SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM" WILL BE "BADLY BATTERED" BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

15. KOREA

CHINA HAS JOINED WITH HER NORTH KOREAN COMRADES IN MOURNING THE DEATH OF VICE PREMIER NAM IL, WHO SERVED AS DPRK CHIEF OF STAFF DURING PART OF THE KOREAN WAR. NPC CHAIRMAN CHU TEH AND ACTING PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG SENT A JOINT CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO KIM IL-SUNG AND PREMIER KIM IL. PRESUMABLY IN KEEPING WITH PYONGYANG'S WISHES, NO SPECIAL PRC ENVOY WAS SENT TO THE BURIAL BUT THE PRC AMBASSADOR IN PYONGYANG LAID A WREATH AT THE MOURNING HALL. ON THE OTHER HAND, PRC MEDIA THUS FAR HAVE NOT MENTIONED THE MARCH 4 DPRK SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY'S LETTER TO WORLD GOVERNMENTS, WHICH CLAIMED TO SEE A GROWING DANGER OF WAR IN KOREA DUE TO USG AND ROK ACTIONS. LOCAL PRC-OWNED PAPERS AS WELL AS NCNA HAVE COMMENTED ON THE ARRESTS OF SOUTH KOREAN DISSIDENTS, WITH THE HONG KONG PAPERS CLAIMING THAT THE ARRESTS WERE MADE TO PRECLUDE GREATER TROUBLES ON APRIL 19, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUP AGAINST SYNGMAN RHEE (NCNA, MARCH 8-9). UNCLASSIFIED CROSS

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